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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the intercultural communication body of knowledge and focuses on the ethnicity and mass communication. The orientation and tradition of communication research in the United States is discussed; the findings of some mass communication studies that have subject matter or variables related to mass ethnicity are summarized; the social science literature underlying these studies is explored; and the relationship between communication, community, and ethnicity is examined. It is concluded that, in regard to the relationship between the mass media and minority ethnic groups, it seems that those studies that are not primarily aimed at increasing advertiser access to minority groups have contributed more to advance ethnic group communication research than advertiser oriented research. It is noted that research in the United States has concentrated on patterns of minority assimilation, indicating a failure to recognize multiethnicity in American society. A theory of ethnicity as communication, especially in the framework of symbolic interaction, is proposed as having explanatory and predictive power regarding processes of intergroup relations. (MKM)

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ETHINICITY AND MASS COMMUNICATION

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ETHNICITY AND MASS COMMUNICATION

In 1975, I pointed out that the large and growing number of ethnic and other minority communication studies could be criticized on at least three grounds--for putting too much emphasis on the pathologies of language and mass media usage, for lacking adequate conceptional and theoretic basis, and for failing to conceptually distinguish minority communications from other kinds of intercultural communication (Nwankwo, 1975:86). Most of the studies were organism-centered, usually attempting to find the deficiencies of specified ethnic or other minority groups which were viewed as given and constant entities with ascertainable demographic characteristics. The process, relational or diachronic aspects of communication were usually also neglected or given inadequate attention. These criticisms still apply.

In a critical discussion of the methodological and subject matter orientations of intercultural communication studies (Nwanko, 1979, in press), I expanded on some of the criticisms above and emphasized that the proliferation of descriptive, classificatory, and at times redundant literature that contributes little to the understanding of the intercultural communication process or to the development of principles that have a high enough predictive power would not help the development of that area of study.

This paper furthers the discussion of the intercultural communication body of knowledge and focuses on ethnicity and mass communication. I shall, first discuss the orientation and tradition of communication research in the United States, summarize the

findings of some mass communication studies that have subject matter or variables related to ethnicity, summarize the social science literature underlying these studies, and finally explicate the relationship between communication, community and ethnicity.

Mass Communication Research in the United States

Although American mass communication research has advanced and diversified since the "founding fathers" (Schramm, 1963:2), there are still problems and controversies about research conceptualization and orientation. Communication research is suffering from area compartmentalization (Nwankwo, 1979, in press).

Schramm (1963:5) has characterized communication research in the U.S. as "quantitative rather than speculative", and its practitioners as being deeply interested in theory, but theory they can test in the effort to find something about why humans behave as they do and how communication can make it possible for people to live together more happily and productively. There seems to be no doubt that American communication research is quantitative and pragmatic. However, there are now serious questions about the ability of the quantitative approach as the ultimate in telling us all we know about human communication (Gruber, 1978:7). Some researchers are now advising caution against cultural myopia in communication research and are encouring more attention to humanistic models (Casmir, 1978:241; Hirsch and Carey, 1978).

Although only a few people will quarrel with Schramm's characterization of American communication research as "concerned with all the ways in which information and ideas are exchanged and shared...both mass and interpersonal communication...all the signs and symbols by which humans try to convey meaning and value one to another" (Schramm, 1963:6), yet very few researchers practice this general orientation. Most communication research is, in fact, being hindered by the often narrow orientations of the specialized areas of communication (Nwankwo, 1979, in press). The problem of area compartmentalization is probably hurting most in the "intercultural communication" area. And, since mass communication is inherently intercultural, it is being seriously troubled by this problem.

Mass Communication, by its nature, is intercultural and should be seen as such. However, it is still difficult for many people to avoid giving a mass, meaning a monolithic audience, interpretation to the mass communication phenomenon, even though Bauer discovered the "obstinate audience" a long time ago and established that the relation between a mass medium and its audience is neither mechanistic nor passive (Schramm, 1971:10; Bauer, 1964).

This state of affairs is now complicated by a new problem: the tendency on the part of some researchers to overemphasize either individual psychological factors in mass communication or the institutional factors. These researchers thus fail to achieve any fusion between the two levels of analysis and thereby render interpretation of research finding inadequate, incomplete, and fruitless.

Gerbner (1967:431) has described mass communication accurately as "the extension of institutionalized public acculturation beyond the limits of face-to-face and any other personally mediated interaction ...the extension of mass production into the cultural field." Thus instead of looking for the essence of mass communication in the monolithism of mechanical solidarity theory or in such attributes as the sex, age, income and residence of individuals, researchers should look hard at the concept of culture and its variables for the fuse that connects all the levels of communication. But culture is precisely the concept that mainstream mass communication research has tended to neglect. And it seems futile to conduct minority or ethnic group research while ignoring the one construct that promises to have the most explanatory power.

There is, as Schramm's descriptions of American communication would indicate, usually an ideological factor in social science research and, certainly, in mass communication research. It is not only in the U.S. that controversies over research concepts rage or that research orientations misdirect research development. In this respect, attention is drawn to the British discourse on the concept of mass communication (Corner, 1979) or to the little attention paid to attitudes in general and attitudes of minority groups in particular in the research tradition of French-speaking countries (Guillaumin, 1974:56). Nevertheless, we ought to be worried more about research which, whilst at first sight appears to meet the conventional criteria of the social sciences, fails to conceive the problems correctly as has often been the case in both mass communication research and research into the nature of prejudice and discrimination (Hollaran, 1974:10).

As is clearly evident from American mass communication research on minorities and ethnic groups, research is not carried out in a socio-political vacuum. Any given piece of research or research policy, strategy or trend may reflect changing historical circumstances and dominant values (Hollaran, 1974:10; Nwankwo, 1978). Minority and ethnic group research has been influenced in this manner.

Ethnic and Minority Communication Research

A summary of the findings of some of the research with subject matter or variables related to ethnicity is provided in this paper (See Table I, attached). It is clear from this summary that neither a clear policy guide nor a sound theoretic base has been provided so far by the research effort in this area. The effort has, however, provided some valuable, even if descriptive, data base for further work in the area. But we cannot make fruitful progress until the generation of data is tied to appropriate theoretical formulation.

In fact, there is already a rich source of theory-building ideas in the social science literature, especially the research into group dynamics and the identity process (McCall and Simon, 1978; Lott and Lott, 1965; Campbell and LeVine, 1968; and Guttentag, 1970). McCall and Simon provide an insight into the relationship between patterns of identity and the concept of actual and perceived interaction opportunity structure. Lott and Lott provide a thorough review of the antecedents and consequences of group cohesiveness from an interpersonal attraction perspective. Campbell and LeVine provide

a reification to larger social system levels of small group processes as they relate to patterns of intergroup relations. And Guttentag provides us with discussions of the processes of cohesiveness at the ethnic group level, including the role of ideology and the mass media.

In regard to the relationship between the mass media and minority ethnic groups, it seems that those studies that are not primarily aimed at increasing advertiser access to minority groups have contributed more to advance ethnic group communication research than advertiser oriented research.

Surlin (1972a, 1972b, 1973) dealt with the media institutional perception of the Black community. Lewels (1974), Nwankwo (1975, 1978), and Greenberg and Dervin (1970) dealt with the purposes for which minorities use the media, although Greenberg and Dervin conceptualized their study in class terms. Leckenby and Surlin (1976), Tan and Tan (1979), Stroman and Becker (1978) factored what they mistakenly called race into their studies but what should have been better dealt with as ethnicity, thus giving it a cultural interpretation. Allen and Bielby (1977) provided a good basic design for studying the relationship of minorities to the media, although there are serious questions about the measurement indices of the subjective orientation variables. Pierce et al (1978) is an example of a good design with the appropriate variable: racism as a variable has better systematic import than race.

Studies by White (1979), Schement and Singleton (1978) and Nwankwo (1978) provide good examples of the study of media institutional processes as they pertain to the minority media or ethnic minority-related issues. These studies remind us of the need to pay more attention to the cultural and institutional structuring of the mass communication context (Hall, 1975). In this connection, it should be pointed out that Bagley (1973), which found a connection between public and press hostility towards colored immigrants in Britain and Unesco (1974, 1977) which also studied patterns of public and press racism expose us to what is being done outside the American research ideology.

Ethnicity and Mass Communication: Conceptual Basis

While French research on minority groups has concentrated on the material and moral conditions under which the minorities live, American research has concentrated on patterns of minority assimilation, indicating a failure to recognize multi-ethnicity in American society (Fong; Bershers, Laumann, and Bradshaw; Gordon, 1964). There already are, however, efforts to reinterpret assimilation (Johnson: 295) to give recognition to group processes and characteristics that do not necessarily involve the eventual disappearance of ethnic groups involved. Parenti (1967: 717) points out the significance of conceptually distinguishing between assimilation and acculturation among American ethnic groups. Acculturation, in this

sense, would signify the acquisition of social competencies necessary for coping in secondary as opposed to primary contexts whereas assimilation signifies the loss of group identity. According to this conceptualization one can, for example, be Americanized while still retaining one's personal and group identity. This conceptualization also recognized the possibility of a truly plural society which the traditional conception of assimilation does not recognize.

In fact, for some groups, such as cultural and racial minorities, the preservation of important and unique cultural practices can be a stabilizing influence against the frustrations of deprivation. Ideological differences regarding assimilation are, of course, sometimes found among members of a particular ethnic group with serious threats to group cohesiveness. Chang (1972) found, for example, that there are three types of Korean ethnic group members--the nativivistic movement group, the cultural assimilation group, and the bicultural movement group--with significantly different values regarding the group's reaction to the individualism of American culture.

In any case, because of characterological changes in society, ethnic groups are no longer content to wait to be assimilated or to adjust to a perpetual minority status. They are instead asserting themselves more and more strongly in the hope of bringing about a condition of ethnic pluralism (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:6), a condition of internal societal complexity with more or less unstable boundaries with respect to questions of group dominance (DeVos, 1975:6). Forced by this reality, social science researchers in

general and communication researchers in particular had to take notice (Nwankwo, 1979). As Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 1) point out, ethnicity seems to be a new term with varied meanings. But whatever operational indices are attached to ethnicity, it seems to be a more useful research concept than ethnic group in the same way that minoritarianism can better function in a theoretical scheme than minority group (Nwankwo, 1975). Ethnic group and minority group are categorical concepts.

Minority groups possess all the elements of other social groups--identification by group members, stereotyping of subgroups and reification of in-group attributes. In addition, they possess the necessary element of discrimination based on power inequality (Nwankwo, 1975: 88). Ethnic groups are similarly social groups but social groups that are characterized by ethnicity, according to Leckenby (1974: 14) and Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 1). While ethnicity is a group process, its conceptualization as a group characteristic is problematic. Leckenby also wrongly described the common ties of ethnicity as primordial. Race, religion, language, and national origin usually provide the foci of identifcation and primordial sentiments, but they are neither sufficient nor necessary elements of ethnicity. Leckenby (1974: 13) did, however, perceive the relation between ethnicity, communication and community.

Ethnicity as Communication

One of the weaknesses of mass communication research and especially minority ethnic group research is the tendency to focus on the concrete entities--the individual, the group, or the media production organization--while neglecting the connections or relationships among the entities. As a consequence, one comes across innumerable concepts that describe the "organisms" or entities, but few concepts that signify processes or relationships. Thus we study a minority group or a community, or an organization as entities and rarely as processes. This is because we often borrow concepts from other fields without examining their utility for our own purposes.

Contrast the conceptualization of community as implying "the special consequences of locality on social organization and cultural values", as implying "sentiments and attachments to a geographical area" (Janowitz, 1967: vii) with the conceptualization of a man's community as "his essential network of interactions or communication ...the set of people, roles, and places with whom he communicates" (Mandelbaum, 1972: 26/27). The second conceptualization appears the more useful for the communication researcher and is altogether a better conceptualization.

Like community, ethnicity has been defined in a variety of ways, but as Cohen (1974: ix) argues, the important question is not which definition is more accurate, but which definition is most helpful in the analysis of certain theoretical problems. Pointing out that the phenomenon of ethnicity is ubiquitous, varied in form, scope

and intensity and is involved in psychic, social and historical variables, Cohen (1974: ix) defines ethnicity conceptually as "a form of interaction between cultural groups operating within common social contexts" and operationally as "the degree of conformity by members of the collectivity to those shared norms in the course of social interaction." Aronson (1976: 14), on the other hand, defines ethnicity as "an ideology of and for value dissensus and disengagement from an inclusive sociopolitical arena", that is, for pursuing major values deemed not shared by others in the arena. Yetman (1975: 10) sees ethnicity as implying the existence of a distinct culture or subculture in which group members feel themselves bound together by common ties and are so regarded by other members of society.

Although there may be problems with these definitions, I selected them because they are not time, space or culture bound. They are also relational, for, indeed, ethnicity is a relational concept. Ethnicity is not, however, necessarily an ideology even though it can be manifested in that process in interaction with other variables. It is not culture either, unless, of course, culture is defined as the process of adaptation, adjustment, control, development, etc. Ethnicity is communication. It does not have to involve race or religion or language or national origin or, for that matter, discrimination and prejudice, but may and often does, in interaction with other relevant variables. The concept or theory of ethnicity, especially in the framework of symbolic interaction (Nwankwo, 1973: 203; Hullett, 1964: 458, 1966: 5) can have great explanatory and predictive power regarding

processes of intergroup relations. Such a theory model would include both cognitive and social variables along the lines suggested by Gordon (1975: 88). By beginning not with the individual merely responding to an environing social system, but with the individual conceived as an entity that is a product of a social system and also an integral part of it, the model will bridge the gap between the exclusively psychological or the exclusively sociological analyses and interpretations which dominate research on minority ethnic groups.

A symbolic interaction model of ethnicity can also encompass a communication theory of community and culture. Deutsch, who used culture and community interchangeably, has spoken of a common culture as "a common set of stable, habitual preferences and priorities in men's attention, and behavior, as well as in their thoughts and feelings...In so far as common culture facilitates communication, it forms a community" (1966:88); of complementarity of social communication as consisting in "the ability to communicate more effectively, and over a wider range of subjects with members of one large group than with outsiders" (1966: 97) and of barriers to communication as "more or less effective not only according to the difficulty of communication across them but also according to the relative ease and attractiveness of alternative channels of communication available to the individual" (1966: 100).

Perhaps, there are degrees of ethnicity in professional-associational, institutional, neighborhood and primordial-ecological or tribal communities.

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
		3. Children of ethnic minorities have different tastes and preferences in television programming--minority adults also differ from majority adults: (a) prefer programming with performers of like ethnicity; (b) drawn to programming featuring families (not shared by minority adults).
		4. The behavioral response of children and adolescents to TV portrayals is in part dependent on ethnic minority membership--does not contradict the inference that perceived similarity enhances the likelihood of behavioral influence.
		5. Ethnic minority children have information needs that give particular prominence to television as a source of guidance--suggested explanation is isolation from sources of information to satisfy information needs that all children have.
2. Greenberg & Atkin (1978)	Review	1. Summarized the effects of the Black environment which are exacerbated for the poor Black: (a) Emphasis on short-term goals or immediate gratification; (b) emphasis on the concrete rather than the abstract; (c) lack of efficiency--variously labeled alienation, powerlessness, anomie, isolation or fatalism; (d) low self-esteem; (e) non-achievement; (f) aspiration--achievement disparity--giving rise to frustration; (g) susceptibility to illusion and fantasy as self-protective and coping mechanism; (h) restricted options and experiences resulting from limited resources.

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS

2. Summarized findings of studies of portrayals of Blacks in the media (also some other minorities):

A. Entertainment Programs

(a) For Blacks, historical progression was from invisibility to portrayals as lazy, dumb, crooked, conniving, clowning characters played by white actors, and later by Black actors. For Indians, portrayal was as blood-thirsty, drunken savages who seldom won battles. For Orientals, portrayal was as evil villains, laundry workers or non-aggressive, super-wise Charlie Chan.

(b) Since the 1970s Blacks are increasingly represented in the media and though shown in more minor roles and in less prestigious occupations than whites, are portrayed as equally industrious, competent and physically attractive as whites, as more moral and kind, with whites more dominant in relationships. However, Blacks are shown as dominating whites in situation comedies, but the opposite occurs in crime dramas.

(c) Even in professional sports, white announcers were found to make more negative references to Black players than white players (of equal ability) who received more favorable references about physical ability, mental ability and achievements off the field.

B. Advertising

(a) Progression was from invisibility to appreciable increase in 1967-69 period with Blacks appearing more often in crowded scenes with whites rather than alone or with other Blacks. Black characters adequately represented in children's Saturday morning shows.

C. News

(a) Blacks well represented, although usually shown in non-speaking roles even when the issues concern them as in busing and civil rights.

(b) Also few Black TV correspondents and these seldom handle lead stories.

3. Summarized TV experiences of the economically disadvantaged blacks:

A. More dependent on TV in leisure time allocation.

B. Content selectivity less prevalent among economically disadvantaged youngsters.

C. More accepting of TV messages.

D. More likely to come to TV to "learn" something.

E. Display higher level of involvement in TV programming.

F. Learn from watching TV.

G. Parents take active part in their children's TV viewing.

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
3. W. Kassarjian: (1973)	Review	Puts emphasis on the "Negro" as a consumer and the ramifications of that for the mass media. Points out dearth of Black media ownership.
i. Bullock (1961)	Survey	Blacks spent most of their time with radio (39%), TV (28%), newspapers (25%); whites spent most of their time on TV(44%) and newspapers (37%) suggested reasons for Black-orientation: radio offers freedom to the imagination; there were Black-oriented radio stations.
ii. Greenberg & Dervin (1970)	Survey	(a) Poor Blacks most exposed to TV and radio next to magazines (mainly Black publications). Non-poor whites watch TV much less than Blacks and use newspapers considerably more than poor people, both Black and white. (b) Blacks most preferred shows featuring Black actors and actresses.
iii. Leo Bogart (1968) (1972)	Survey	(a) Whites read newspapers more than "Negroes", while difference in time spent in radio becomes much less pronounced and disappears altogether in TV (1968). (b) Discrepancy in newspaper reading between Blacks and whites but generally greater amounts of time spent by Blacks watching TV (1972).
iv. Carey (1966)	Survey	(a) "Negroes" preferred individual-centered programs with themes of conflicts and loneliness; they showed less desire for variety shows and those portraying families (than whites).

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
v. Fletcher (1969)	Survey: fccuses on 6th to 12th graders of a Southern school.	Found no significant differences between whites and Blacks.
vi. Surlin and Dominick (1970)	Survey	Negroes have strong family interest in family shows.
vii. Berkman (1963) Hirsch (1968)	Survey	Ebony readership atypical of the Black population in so far as they strive towards whiteness and middle class status
viii. Anonymous (1969)	Survey	Selected white publications better for reaching Blacks than Black publications.
ix. Petrof (1968)	Field experiments in Georgia.	Firms catering primarily to Blacks can have more impact on their prospective customers by advertising in the Black publications (for products or firms used exclusively by Blacks), otherwise a general newspaper will do better.
x. Barban & Cundiff (1964) Barban & Grunbaum (1965) Barban (1969)	Used semantic differential techniques to measure reaction to all-white, all-Negro and integrated ads.	Whites showed greatest preference for integrated ads, then all-white, then Black; Negroes showed equal preference for all-Negro and integrated ads, all-white ads less preferred but did not seem to have difficulty identifying with all-white ads. Other studies cited under the integrated versus non-integrated ad effect search showed inconsistent results and effect of such variables as product category, kind of ad, degree of prejudice, and measurement methods.

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
xi. Blacks as Communicator Studies	Varied	(a) Several studies found that there has been an increase in the sheer number of Blacks appearing in print, and inspite of the tendency to sometimes use non-Americans or place American Blacks in exotic places, there has also been a shift away from the predominantly menial roles in which Blacks were placed. Even Ebony which is said to cater to Blacks aspiring to white society and the middle-class has been shown to make greater use of dark-skinned, more explicitly Negroid-looking models in its ads. (b) The increases and changes in the Black presence were found by numerous studies of the print and broadcast media--so much so that Blacks have been over-represented in professional and managerial roles, prompting the suggestion that they are being ridiculed on the hypothesis that minorities pass through four successive stages: from non-recognition; through ridicule and regulation, and finally respect.
4. Surlin (1978)	Review: Docudrama impact focusing on 4 "Roots" studies--Survey	Summarized the results of four studies on "Roots" which provide data on effect of docudramas. Differences, though not always consistent, were found on Black and white viewing frequency, interpersonal interaction subsequent to viewing, emotional response to the docudrama and informational uses of the episodes viewed. On the relevance of "Roots" to race relations, whites were found to be more optimistic about the effects of "Roots" than Blacks or Chicanos, although all segments of the population apparently wanted more of

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
		similar programs. The effect on whites seems to arise from feelings of guilt and sympathy. The effect on Blacks was sometimes "negative" as was indicated by increased hostility, hatred, prejudice, and racism towards whites.
II. OTHER STUDIES		
1. Allen & Bielby (1977)	Field experiment: included subjective orientations and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics in a multivariate correlational design intended to explain attitudes and exposure to several types of print media: majority print media and the Black print media were the major categories. Operational definition of subjective orientation variables questionable.	Found that demographic and socioeconomic background and subjective orientations accounted for very little variation in all but one of the exposure variables. Economically successful Blacks, designated as high status Blacks, were more likely to be exposed to majority print media. Age had a small net negative effect and alienation a small positive effect on exposure to Black entertainment periodicals. Authors were able to replicate and expand on previous findings about the relationship of Black Americans to the print media.
2. Berelson and Salter (1957)	Content Analysis	Found positive treatment of "The Americans" (i.e. "White, Protestant, English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon--common ancestry and common characteristics were decisive") and negative, if mostly, covert treatment of "The Others". Even within "The Others", there were differences. The minority and foreign groups

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
		from the other European and Oriental countries, deprived as they were, received preferential treatment over Negroes and Jews.
3. Colfax and Sternberg (1972)	Content analysis primarily	Questions earlier findings of the upgrading of the advertising image of the Black American. "The manner in which Blacks are depicted in these ads indicates that an equitable or realistic portrayal of the Black American is not a characteristic of such advertisements, increases in gross representation rates notwithstanding."
4. Greenberg (1972)	Interview survey: 409 4th and 5th grade children.	Black and white children find TV Blacks to identify with--but the reasons for identification not given.
5. H. Kassarjian (1969)	Content analysis.	Found that the frequency of Blacks appearing in ads did not increase over the 20-year period; that it decreased in 1956 and by 1965 merely reached the 1946 level; that the Negro's occupational status rose significantly although he is still seldom found in conventional middle-class settings.
6. Jeffres & Hur (1979)	Survey: Sample from 13 White ethnic groups.	1. The more educated and affluent the respondents, the more they were critical of their ethnic image portrayed in major media. 2. Strong identity with ethnic group related to negative evaluation of metropolitan media coverage of ethnic affairs.

	AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
7.	Kevin (1979)	Experiment: Black models and Black and White female subjects	Whites associate product quality with Caucasian facial features, Blacks with Negroid features, both rate products more favorably when the model exhibits stereotypical racial features like Afro hair style and Negroid features, regardless of skin tone, although Negroid features and dark and medium color skin tones produced highest product quality ratings. Validity of study questionable.
8.	La Brie and Zima (1971)	Survey (telephone) of 90 Black editors	1. Current role to inform (66%), protest (31%). 2. Audience predominantly Black (90%). 3. Black press growing? (86%, yes; 14%, no). 4. Future role of Black press--crusade (42%), report mainly Black news (20%), channel between races (8%), soap box for Black pride (21%). 5. Will audience remain predominantly Black? (53%, yes; 47%, no).
9.	Lang (1957)	?	Media appeal to majority or modal taste while ignoring the taste of minorities.
10.	Northcott, Seggar & Hinton (1975)	Content analysis	Compared 1971 and 1973 Black portrayals by occupational tokenism and found that 1971 was by far better for Blacks than 1973, especially Black males. Tried to explain as reflection of reality.

	AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
11.	Nwankwo (1975, 1978)	Survey/Content Analysis/Conceptualization	Blacks identified with ethnic media and used media (in United States and Africa) mainly to push ethnic or Black concerns.
12.	Pierce, et al (1978)	Experiment/ Content Analysis	Found numerous, excessive, gratuitous and unnecessary negative representation of Blacks in TV commercials.
13.	Rainville & McCormick (1978)	Content analysis of what announcers say about players.	White players get more praise, less criticism than comparable Black players.
14.	Roberts (1975)	Content analysis of TV newscasts.	Found adequate appearance of Blacks but mostly in civil rights stories and in non-speaking roles. Thus, Black views were scarcely expressed.
15.	Shuter (1979)	Field study of non-verbal Black communication.	1. The dap, a special kind of non-verbal interpersonal communication functioned in basically the same way for military men around the globe. 2. An enlisted man's willingness to dap and his skill in performance often determined whether he would be trusted by other Blacks. 3. The use of the dap decreased with the decline of the Black power movement.
16.	Stroman & Becker (1978)	Survey	1. Blacks rely on newspapers less than whites, the difference being more glaring for low education subgroups. 2. Readership habits for features and public affairs differ among Blacks and whites and hold within educational and SES subgroups.

AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
		3. Time of TV news viewing differed between Blacks and whites. 4. Blacks use newspapers more to be reminded of (white) candidates strengths and not to find stand on issues.
17. Tan (1978)	Survey	1. Both Blacks and Mexican-Americans were generally negative in their evaluation of newspapers and TV, although Blacks were more critical, with Mexican-Americans feeling, for example, that TV shows appeal to their group. 2. The Blacks who were critical tended to have higher education, be younger, have high self-esteem, for Mexican-Americans, the younger and the high self-esteemed more critical of the media but education was negatively correlated with criticism of the media. 3. Criticism of television negatively related to exposure to TV entertainment. Suggested explanation--American social structure: it is easier for Mexican-Americans to assimilate.
18. Tan and Tan (1979)	Survey	High exposure to TV entertainment and low self-esteem were correlated for Blacks, but not for whites.

	AUTHOR	METHOD/CONCEPTS	FINDINGS/CONCLUSIONS
19.	Davis and Westmoreland (1974)	Survey	A study of 44 daily newspapers in Texas revealed that Mexican-Americans accounted for 3.2%, Negroes 1.6% of total editorial workers. Three Orientals and one Arab accounted for the rest (raw figures, 42 Mexican-Americans, 20 Blacks and 3 others = 66).
20.	Williams and Lindsay (1971)	Survey	Significant differences were found in the communication habits and attitudes of different subgroups in the study; but what the authors considered striking was that differences correlated with social stratification rather than with ethnic differentiation.

SUMMARY: Most of the studies used Black subjects; so it is not clear whether the same findings would apply to other ethnic minority groups. In most cases evidence was not strong, at times contradictory. But in general:

I. ENVIRONMENT FOR MEDIA CONSUMPTION: Not very conducive to optimal use of available information sources which are, in any case, poor.

II. PORTRAYAL: Generally negative, media over-representation of Blacks in professional and managerial positions amounts to ridicule.

III. MEDIA USE: Blacks preferred visual, audio and print media in that order. Generally preferred same race sources. Ethnic media used mainly to push Black concerns.

IV. BLACK-WHITE DIFFERENCES: Findings mixed, but overall there are different orientations for example, whites use print media more than Blacks. Even time of network news viewing differs. Class or SES variables confound results. No significant differences among children.

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